

Message Text

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TAGS: MMOL, US, SF

SUBJECT: ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

1. MR. SEAN GERVASI, RESOURCE ASSOCIATE AT NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY, TESTIFIED BEFORE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA (DIGGS) ON JULY 14. IN HIS TESTIMONY, GERVASI CHARGED THAT UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY VIOLATED UN ARMS EMBARGO BY APPROVING SALES OF LETHAL EQUIPMENT. PERTINENT PORTION OF TESTIMONY PRESENTED BELOW FOR URGENT REVIEW BY EMBASSY. DEPT WITNESS
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SCHEDULED TO APPEAR BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON JULY 20 TO REFUTE ALLEGATIONS. DEPT REQUIRES EMBASSY VIEWS BY JULY 19 TO INSURE EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL OF CHARGES.

2. QUOTE. THE QUESTION ARISES NOW, MR. CHAIRMAN, OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. IT IS CLEAR FROM THE PRECEDING TABLES THAT A

GREAT DEAL OF US MILITARY EQUIPMENT IS NOW IN SERVICE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCES. THE MAJOR ITEMS ABOUT WHICH WE KNOW AT THIS TIME ARE THE FOLLOWING:

M-3A1 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS

T-17 EL STAGHOUND ARMORED CARS

M-47 PATTON MAIN BATTLE TANKS

M-41 WALKER BULLDOG LIGHT TANKS

M-113A1 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS

COMMANDO V-150 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS

M-7 105 MM SELF-PROPELLED GUNS

M-109 155 MM SELF-PROPELLED GUNS

LOCKHEED F-104G STARFIGHTER JETS

NORTH AMERICAN F-51D COUNTERINSURGENCY AIRCRAFT

AGUSTA-BELL 205A IROQUOIS HELICOPTERS

LOCKHEED HERCULES C-130B TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT

IT WAS NOT KNOWN OUTSIDE OFFICIAL CIRCLES UNTIL LAST YEAR THAT THESE WEAPONS WERE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVENTORY. MENTION HAS BEEN MADE FROM TIME TO TIME OF THE USE OF THE STAGHOUND ARMORED CAR AND OF THE M-3A1 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER BY SOUTH AFRICA. BUT IT HAS CERTAINLY NEVER BEEN MENTIONED THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM REMAIN IN SERVICE WITH THE CITIZEN FORCE. VIRTUALLY NOTHING HAS BEEN SAID ANYWHERE ABOUT THE OTHER ARMS LISTED ABOVE. THE IDEA THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE US HAD MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXPANSION AND MODERNIZATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCES THEREFORE COMES AS A SURPRISE TO MANY PEOPLE. YET THE FACTS MAKE THAT CONCLUSION INESCAPABLE.

WEAPONS MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OR MADE IN OTHER COUNTRIES UNDER US LICENSE ARE TODAY AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S ARSENAL. SOUTH AFRICA HAS QUITE LARGE NUMBERS OF SOME OF THEM, AS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE PRECEDING TABLES. ALL ARE OPERATIONAL. ALL ARE IN SERVICE WITH THE REGULAR FORCES OR THE CITIZEN FORCE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, DELIVERIES OF SOME ITEMS OF US EQUIPMENT ARE CONTINUING NOW.

IT IS NOT CLEAR WHEN ALL THESE ARMS WERE SENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. BUT A LARGE PROPORTION APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SHIPPED AFTER THE EMBARGO WAS DECLARED IN 1963. THE M-3A1 PERSONNEL CARRIERS AND THE WALKER BULLDOG TANKS WERE APPARENTLY SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE EARLY 1950'S, ALONG WITH THE STAGHOUND ARMORED CARS AND THE M-7 SELF-PROPELLED GUNS. THE HERCULES TRANSPORTS WERE SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE YEAR THE ARMS EMBARGO BEGAN. ALL THE REMAINING

US ITEMS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SOLD AFTER IT BEGAN. THE M-47 PATTON TANKS, THE COMMANDO PERSONNEL CARRIERS, THE M-113A1 PERSONNEL CARRIERS AND THE M-109 155 MM SELF-PROPELLED GUNS WERE ALL SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 1970'S. THE IROQUOIS HELICOPTERS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE EARLY 1970'S. THE DATE OF THE SALE OF THE STARFIGHTER JETS AND THE F-51D CAVALIERS HAS NOT YET BEEN ASCERTAINED.

UNITED STATES CORPORATIONS DO NOT, SO FAR AS IS KNOWN, SELL DIRECTLY TO SOUTH AFRICA. ARMS MOVE TO THAT COUNTRY BY AN INDIRECT ROUTE. THE PREFERRED CHANNEL FOR GETTING US ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA AT PRESENT APPEARS TO BE LICENSED PRODUCTION. BY THIS ARRANGEMENT US CORPORATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AGREE TO LET A FOREIGN MANUFACTURER PRODUCE AN AMERICAN WEAPON UNDER LICENSE. THE FOREIGN MANUFACTURER THEN SHIPS THE ITEM IN QUESTION TO SOUTH AFRICA. IN THEORY, THIS TRAFFIC SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY THE OFFICE OF MUNITIONS CONTROL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

HOWEVER, THE OMC APPARENTLY DOES NOT CONTROL SOME FOREIGN SALES WHEN PRODUCTION TAKES PLACE UNDER US LICENSE. THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE LICENSED OTO MELARA, A MAJOR ITALIAN ARMS MANUFACTURER, TO PRODUCE A VERSION OF THE M-113A1 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER. IT IS THE OTO MELARA MODELS WHICH HAVE BEEN SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA RECENTLY. THEY WERE SHIPPED FROM ITALY. OTO MELARA IS ALSO PRODUCING, OR REFURBISHING, THE M-109 SELF-PROPELLED GUN UNDER LICENSE AND THEN SELLING IT TO SOUTH AFRICA. BRAVIA, A FIRM IN PORTUGAL, IS PRODUCING THE V-150 COMMANDO PERSONNEL CARRIER UNDER LICENSE FROM CADILLAC GAGE OF DETROIT. THE COMMANDOS ARE THEN BEING SENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THESE WEAPONS ARE ALL NOW IN THE PROCESS OF BEING DELIVERED. SO FAR AS IS KNOWN, NO ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO STOP THIS TRAFFIC.

I HAVE NOT MYSELF HAD THE CHANCE TO INVESTIGATE THE ROUTES BY WHICH OTHER WEAPONS HAVE REACHED, AND ARE REACHING, SOUTH AFRICA. I AM SURE THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL WANT TO INVESTIGATE THE MATTER. THERE IS A GREAT DEAL WHICH IS STILL UNCLEAR ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.

WHAT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE UNITED STATES, AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS, HAVE SIMPLY IGNORED THE SECURITY COUNCIL CALL FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS NO OTHER CONSTRUCTION WHICH ONE CAN PUT ON THEIR ACTIONS. FOR, WHILE STATING THAT THEY HAVE BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IMPLEMENTING AN EMBARGO, THEY HAVE ALLOWED VAST QUANTITIES OF ARMS TO BE SENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THUS THESE COUNTRIES HAVE DONE PRECISELY WHAT THEY SAID THEY WERE NOT DOING. THEY HAVE HELPED SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPOSE APARTHEID. AND THEY HAVE ENOCURAGED A STATE WHOSE POLICIES THEY PROFESS TO ABHOR 'TO RELY ON MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO THE COMPLEX OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS.' THAT IS, THESE STATES, THE UNITED STATES INCLUDED, HAVE TAKEN THE SIDE OF THE AFRIKANER STATE IN THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION WHICH IS NOW DEVELOPING. AND THEY HAVE DONE SO IN SECRET.

THE FACT THAT THIS HAS HAPPENED IS EXCEEDINGLY ALARMING. I HOPE THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT A FULL INVESTIGATION OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN ORDER THAT THE REAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN SUCH COMMITMENTS MAY BE PROPERLY DEBATED IN PUBLIC. END QUOTE. VANCE

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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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